

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05
ACDA-12 CU-04 TRSE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 STR-05
DOTE-00 FMC-01 CG-00 DLOS-09 OES-07 IO-13 USIE-00
NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /113 W
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O R 222026Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3707
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION USNATO
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USIA WASHDC

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, NOVEMBER 22

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SUMMARY: ALL FIVE WORKING BODIES WERE IN SESSION, WITH CBMS DOING BOTH MORNING AND AFTERNOON DUTY. THERE WERE NO SURPRISES, AND DAY'S MAJOR ACTIVITY WAS IN NATO HEADS OF DEL CAUCUS WHICH DISCUSSED CONCLUDING DOCUMENT QUESTIONS (DETAILS SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

1. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- WORKING BODY HELD DOUBLE SESSION.

FOR FIRST TIME, NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) EXPRESSED, IN VARYING DEGREES, INTEREST IN SOVIET PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS. YUGOSLAV REP FOUND IT "GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE", SWEDE CAUTIOUSLY RECOGNIZED ITS "CONFIDENCE-GUILDING POTENTIAL". CYPRIOT EMBRACED CONCEPT WHILE SUGGESTING THAT 50,000-60,000 SHOULD BE STARTING POINT FROM WHICH TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE AN EVEN LOWER CEILING. EASTERN REPS ALL SUGGESTED THAT CEILING SHOULD PRESENT LITTLE PROACTICAL PROBLEM FOR PARTICIPATING STATES SINCE ONLY ONE MANEUVER NOTIFIED SINCE HELSINKI HAD EXCEEDED 60,000. SOVIET IDEA OF EXTENDING CBMS TO SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN WAS GIVEN SHORT SHIFT BY BOTH CYPRUS AND MALTA WHO NOTED THAT IT WAS QUESTION PROPERLY ADDRESSED TO NON-PARTICIPATING STATES; THAT THOSE STATES WERE NOT PRESENT TO ANSWER IT, MALTESE AMBASSADOR SAID, WAS DUE PRIMARILY TO SOVIET OPPOSITION. MALTESE AND CYPRIOT REPS BOTH SAID IDEA WOULD BE OF REAL INTEREST ONLY IF IT MEANT FUNCTIONAL EXPANSION OF CBMS TO COVER NAVAL NOTIFICATIONS. SOVIET REP REMAINED EVASIVE ABOUT SPECIFIC NATURE OF PROPOSED "SPECIAL JOINT CONSULTATIONS" DESPITE DANISH AND TURKISH ENQUIRIES AND ROMANIAN SUGGESTION THAT IDEA WAS TANTAMOUNT TO POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS WORKING GROUP ON CBMS.

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2. WARSAW PACT STATES BEGAN TO ADDRESS NNA AND ALLIED PROPOSALS IN SOME DETAIL, EMPLOYING QUESTIONS TO SUGGEST THAT SPECIFIC ELEMENTS LACKED PRECISION AND CONSTITUTED AMENDMENTS TO FINAL ACT. THEY ALLOWED, HOWEVER, THAT UNSPECIFIED ELEMENTS OF NNA PROPOSAL "WERE INTERESTING". SWEDISH REP EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT AT CONTRAST BETWEEN GIGANTIC STRIDES (NON-FIRST-USE, PACT LIMITATION) SOVIETS SEEMED READY TO TAKE OUTSIDE OF CSCE WITH THEIR POSITION TO EVEN MODESTLY ENLARGED CBMS. US REP ANALYZED ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF NAVAL AND AIR MANEUVERS. HE RECOGNIZED CONFIDENCE-BUILDING INTENT, BUT NOTED THAT A SIMILAR MEASURE HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AND REJECTED IN GENEVA FOR REASONS THAT REMAINED VALID IN BELGRADE: EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND PERHAPS INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION; INTERFERENCE WITH LEGITIMATE TRAINING ACTIVITY NECESSARY FOR DEFENSIVE PREPAREDNESS, UNACCEPTABLE LIMITATION OF FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON HIGH SEAS. IN COMMENTATING ON NNA PROPOSALS, UK REP OBSERVED THAT AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS WERE MORE DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THAN THOSE ON LAND AND

THAT LATTER, IN ANY EVENT, WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE DESTABILIZING. YUGOSLAV AND CYPROT REPS ACHNOWLEDGED DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN DEALING WITH NAVAL AND AIR MAN-EUVERS BUT ARGUED THAT PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON THEY REQUIRED FURTHER STUDY.

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O R 222026Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3708
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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3. US REP MADE DETAILED COMPARISON OF NNA AND ALLIED SPECIAL PROPOSALS ON OBSERVERS, POINTING OUT THEIR COMPLEMENTARY NATURE. CANADIAN REP SUPPORTED US AND UK OBSERVATIONS

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THAT NNA PROPOSAL CONCERNING GREATER OBSERVER
ACCESS TO COMMAND STAFF ASIY#L AS FIELD UNITS MIGHT
NOT BE FEASIBLE FOR REASONS OF BOTH SECURITY AND
PRACTICABILITY. CANADIAN AMCPOTHER ALLIED REPS
ASKED

SOVIET DELEGATE WHETHER TERM " ELEMENT CONSIS-
TENTLY" IN SOVIET DOCUMENT WAS A
PRESCRIPTION FOR MORE LIBERAL IMPLEMENTATION BY THOSE
WHO HAD IMPLEMENTED RESTRICTCZELYHBR VICE VERSA.
SOVIET SAID IT WAS SIMPLY REAFFIRMATION OF FINAL ACT.

4. BASKET TWO -- DISCUSSION WAS DOMINATED BY PROCEDURAL
QUESTIONS ABOUT LISTING OF BASKET TWO NEW PROPOSALS BY
CSCE SECRETARIAT FOR DELEGATES' USE. ONLY SUBSTANTIVE
ISSUE DISCUSSED WAS AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL ON INLAND WATERWAYS
(BM/E/2). FRG AGAIN QUESTIONED WHETHER PROPOSAL GOES BE-
YOND SCOPE OF FINAL ACT WHICH REFERS ONLY TO "INLAND
WATERWAYS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS".
FRENCH REP QUESTIONED MEANING OF "SURRENDER OF TRANSIT
RIGHTS" CALLED FOR IN PROPOSAL AS WELL AS EXTENT TO
WHICH IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO COORDINATE WITH OTHER
STATES WHEN BUILDING OR ALTERING WATERWAYS. IN REPLY,
AUSTRIAN REP EMPHASIZED UTILITY OF VOLUNTARY BILATERAL
AGREEMENTS AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN WATERWASY AND
TRANSITING STATES. HE NOTED THAT WORD "SURRENDER" WAS
AN IMPRECISE TRANSLATION AND INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO
MODIFY THIS LANGUAGE. HE MAINTAINED THAT HIGH LEVEL
POLITICAL CONFERENCES LIKE THOSE FAVORED BY
SOVIETS ARE NOT NECESSARY TO RESOLVE TECHNICAL
TRANSPORT ISSUES AND THAT BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD GIVE
IMPETUS FOR EXPERT EXAMINATION OF URGENT INLAND WATER-
WAY PROBLEMS THAT ECE MIGHT CONSIDER. CZECH REP SAID
GAP BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION OF TRANSPORT PROBLEMS BY

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EXPERTS AND NEED TO ARRIVE AT "EFFECTIVE
CONCLUSIONS" COULD BEST BE BRIDGED BY SOVIET PRO-
POSAL (BM/7).

5. MEDITERRANEAN -- PORTUGUESE, GREEK, SPANISH, ROMANIAN,
AND MALTESE REPS ALL URGED ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME FORM OF
POST-BELGRADE MEDITERRANEAN GROUP. ONLY GREEK REP DE-
FNEDED PROPRIETY OF PURE MALTESE PROPOSAL THOUGH URGING
WORKING BODY TO CONENTRATE ON PRECISE AREAS WHERE POST-

BELGRADE COOPERATION WOULD BE MOST PROFITABLE.
PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH REPS SUPPORTED EXPERTS GROUP
WITH MEMBERSHIP OF ALL CSCE STATES AND CONTRI-
BUTIONS FROM NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES.
ROMANIAN REP STRESSED NEED FOR WORKING BODY FIRST TO
IDENTIFY MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE CARRIED OVER TO EX-
PERTS GROUP AND QUESTIONED PROPRIETY OF FULLY MEMBER-
SHIP FOR SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES IN A CSCE BODY AS
MALTESE HAVE PROPOSED. WITHOUT TAKING A POSITION ON
A POST-BELGRADE GROUP, AUSTRIAN REP SAID HIS DEL WOULD
WELCOME A LIST OF PROPOSALS ON REGIONAL COOPERATION
AND FOLLOW-UP THAT MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN CONCLUDING DOCU-
MENT.

6. BASKET THREE -- UNEVENTFUL, SLOW MOVING SESSION
FOLLOLD UP YESTERDAY'S PRESENTATION OF FRENCH PROPOSAL ON
MEETINGS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE (BM/H/11). USSR, GDR AND
SWISS REPS QUESTIONED WISDOM OF "PARTICIPATION OF REPRE-
SENTATIVES OF THE COMPETENT GOVERNMENTAL ORGANS". SWISS
ALSO SUGGESTED UNESCO INVOLVEMENT INCON-
SISTENT WITH FINAL ACT AND WOULD DUPLICATE WORK OF
EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS. FIRST SENTENCE OF BULGARIAN
PROPOSAL ON SPORT (CSCE/BM//44) DREW COMMENT FROM WESTERN
DELS WHO FELT THAT EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION
IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION IN HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION
AND THAT POST-HELSINKI EXPERIENCE HAS NOT BEEN WHOLLY
POSITIVE. SOVIET PROPOSAL (BM/H/13) ON PRO-
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MOTING MEETINGS OF PUBLIC IN DEFENSE OF PEACE, SECURITY
AND FRIENDSHIP PROMPTED FRG REP TO SUGGEST IT WOULD BE APPRO-
PRIATE TO EXPAND PROPOSED TOPICS TO INCLUDE ALL
BASKET THREE SUBJECTS, US REP SECONDED THIS. SOVIET REP
STATED THAT WESTERN REACTION TO THIS PROPOSAL CLEARLY
DELINEATED THOSE FOR WHOM CONCERNS OF
EUROPEAN PEACE, SECURITY AND FRIENDSHIP WERE PRIMARY.

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3709
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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7. FOLLOW-UP -- DISCUSSION OF MANDATE AND MODALITIES
OF EXPERTS GROUP CONTINUED WITH AUSTRIAN, SWISS,
ROMANIAN, SPANISH AND MALTESE REPS MINIMIZING DANGER
OF PROLIFERATION, WHILE MAINTAINING THAT PROLIFERATION
IN ITSELF WAS NOT NECESSARILY A NEGATIVE PHENOMENON.
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SWISS REP ENVISAGED TOTAL OF FIVE OR SIX EXPERTS GROUPS
RESULTING FROM BELGRADE, WHILE ROMANIAN REP INCREASED
TOTAL HE ENVISAGED LAST WEEK TO EIGHT. LATTER ALSO
EMPHASIZED THAT, AS MEANS OF "SHARING THE WEALTH",
NO COUNTRY SHOULD HOST MORE THAN ONE EXPERTS' GROUP,
SINCE, IN HIS VIEW, FOR SOME COUNTRIES SUCH MEETINGS
WOULD HAVE DEFINITE "POLITICAL INTEREST AND VALUE".
SWISS REP, NOTING THAT THE TWO EXPERTS GROUPS FORESEEN
IN FINAL ACT ARE NOW ENVISAGED FOR 1978, STRESSED THAT
ANY FURTHER EXPERTS GROUPS SHOULD BE SPACED OUT OVER
TIME, BEGINNING IN 1979. SPANISH REP SUPPORTED BY

IRISH AND MALTESE REPS SUGGESTED THAT OPTIMAL MEANS OF REPORTING RESULTS OF EXPERTS GROUPS TO NEXT BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING WOULD BE FOR REPRESENTATIVE OF COUNTRY HOSTING EACH GROUP TO UNDERTAKE TASK.

SOVIET REP SAID MALTESE SUGGESTION TO DRAFT GUIDELINES FOR EXPERTS GROUP WAS PREMATURE.

8. QUESTION OF NEED FOR ANOTHER PREPARATORY MEETING AROSE FOR FIRST TIME. IRISH REP SAID THAT MOST DELS NOW SAW VALUE OF VERY SHORT PREPARATORY MEETING IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING. SOVIET REP NOTED THAT "IN PRINCIPLE" HIS DEL WOULD BE IN FAVOR OF BRIEF PREPARATORY MEETING BUT STRESSED THAT THIS QUESTION NEEDED FURTHER STUDY.

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